000 near his house and help him farm.

591 369 166 183 In the towns, the situation is much more fluid, and wealth differences are more pronounced. Consequently there is considerable mobility and a greater tendency for sons to strike out on their own. In addition, there is a constant stream of younger people moving from the villages to the towns and cities, and from one town to another. These conditions, taken together with the relaxed attitude which the Kanuri hold toward a standard rule of residence (that is, that ideally sons should live close to their fathers, though other forms are equally acceptable), would lead one to conclude that post-marital residence among the Kanuri exhibits a tendency towards initial patrilocal residence, particularly in the rural areas, but that neolocal residence is more characteristic of the entire society.

591 888 [592] When parents grow old, a married son or married daughter can bring them to live in his or her home. A married son may build a house close to his own for his old parents to live in, and would supply them with food and clothing. A man may be required by the Alkali to send food to his old parents, but he is not forced to build a house for them close to his own.

4. The Family.

* 596 592 As is evident from the above discussion of postmarital residence, extended families when they do occur among the Kanuri, are exceptional since most frequently postmarital residence is neolocal. At certain times, as when a young married couple live

596 592 in the household of the boy's father, or when an elderly parent is taken into his son or daughter's household, three generations are found living together. Most typically, no more than two generations are found living in the same household. These may be either nuclear families, or polygamous families.

595 Polygamy is preferred, though it is of course difficult to support two or more wives. Sororal polygamy is forbidden--a man may not marry two sisters; in fact, he is forbidden from visiting with two sisters who are both zogors (and therefore he would presumably be sleeping with them), since they are both potentially spouses.

A man's house is surrounded by the walls of his compound, and within these walls live all the members of his household. Each wife must have her own house with its small surrounding area. This is her zogoso (meaning a narrow area). It is preferable that the house areas of a man's co-wives be distinctly separated, so that one wife cannot hear her husband as he speaks to his other wife when they are alone. The zogoso are frequently walled off within the compound. Since the husband usually builds his house, or has it built for him by his father, he is the owner, and theoretically he owns everything which belongs to his wife as well, her clothing and her personal effects, and the cooking utensils, storage pots, and household possessions. He can demand these things from her should she leave his house, though this rarely happens and she normally leaves, taking these possessions with her.

422 593 [586]

592 supporting his widowed mother.

592 Although a complete census coverage of residence units,
125 in order to determine the range and variation of residence patterns
171 proved unfeasible,(1) personal observations and first-hand acquaintance with 25-30 households over a one-year period brought out somewhat similar conclusions to Smith's analysis of his Hausa census material.(2)

592 There are two general types of household groupings linked
571 to one another through time in a roughly cyclical process of fission
[596] and fusion. The first type is that of a man, wife or wives, and
[829] children and son's wives. This is an ideal pattern in the culture. In anthropological terms it is a patrilocal extended family organisation with the possible addition of a servant or a tada njima (son of the house - like a son, but non-kin). From this traditionally valued structure two forms can emerge or develop. The son and/or servant may move off and set up his own household, either close by or in a distant locality depending upon political and economic factors. This is just about ready to happen in the diagram above. The son (7) has his own farm, wife, child and non-agricultural source of income, all independent of the compound head. If he decides on another wife he will find his father's compound cramping to his own expanding nuclear family unit requirements and move to a new location close by. Desire for autonomous headship of his own family grouping plus the possible squabbles between co-wives which must traditionally be suppressed before his own parents will also tend to determine his decision to move. In this particular case he will not move far

123 (1) The census was planned and arranged for but was given up for political reasons. The writer was assured by close friends that in the contemporary atmosphere of tax fears the census program would disturb ultimate rapport objectives in the community.
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(2) Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 19-28.

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als and senior siblings. That is to say, in terms of ego's sensitivity to kinship superiors' ability to command discipline-respect, the data indicates that the father role contains the greatest proportion of authority in terms of ego's responses. This does not mean that father surrogates can never successfully replace the father role for ego, for as we shall see, the role is defined primarily in terms
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of functions rather than biological ascription. Thus, if the father-head of the patrilocal extended family organization cannot produce for his subordinate members all the subsistence satisfactions, the clothing, bride-wealth, and status in the community, which they require in return for their subservience, then to that extent the discipline aspect of the bàrzum is impaired. In other words, power will be weakened because the compound head's authority, i.e. his ability to secure performance of his decisions will vary with his ability to make his subordinates sensitive to his authority. Because of his ascribed role as father a man can always expect some bàrzum from his son. However, to make the relationship work he must continually perform the actions which create and maintain subservience.

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Thus, in the diagram above of the traditional patrilocal extended family grouping,[1] the son (7) will soon be moving out to form his own compound. The son is at present very sensitive to his father's commands. The father gave him his farm, his bride-wealth, his horse, and at present supplements his income. The son, being the only male heir, stands to gain a comparatively large inheritance plus a political office which he values upon his father's death. Consequently, the son is not going to move his household very far away when he sets up his own compound and is not going to demand

[1] [cf. p. 86]

593 596 571 complete autonomy even when his new residence pattern has been established. On the other hand, the father is only a lower link in 593 557 a large, complex political system, and the father's relationships to those above him are carefully scanned by the son. If the father should fall out of favour in the total political organization of Bornu, then to that extent his degree of power over his son may diminish, for the son being desirous of eventually stepping into the father's shoes is also sensitive to higher authorities than those of his immediate residential grouping. The continued loyalty and subservience of the son is therefore a function of the father's beneficence and his total position in the society at large. Certainly the bonds of consanguinity enter to thicken the tie between them, but a continued violation of the above methods of making the relationship work, i.e. validating the relationship, would lead to the possibility of the son looking for a more beneficent superior, real father notwithstanding. The father-son relationship would then have more formal bərsum (respect) than actual functioning power and authority involved. Because of the ascribed nature of the real father role, however, the relationship can never be totally divested of authority. He can always secure some little performance of action on the part of the son, which the culture sanctions, such as attendance at family weddings, funerals, etc. although his power, i.e. his ability to make decisions about action for his son's behaviour is more highly variable and requires more careful cultivation if it is to be as diffuse as is ideally desired in the patrilocal family organization.

571 557 If the foregoing description seems too mechanistic, it is a result of the example chosen to illustrate the phenomena. In this

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593 the luxury of female seclusion to the degree that their wives' only
565 functions are sexual intercourse, raising children, and preparing food. Generally speaking women value the higher status conferred by such marriages. However one woman in Magumeri felt that she had very little social life and complained of lonaliness. She claimed that a secluded marriage in the city is preferable because there are more women of her class to visit her and more special events for her to attend.

582 The Kanuri practise preferential cousin marriage (nyia durbe.). Such unions are possible with the offspring of father's brothers and sisters, and mother's brothers. Interview material and genealogical data indicate that roughly 1/4 of all males questioned have married a cousin at some time. However most males marry from three to six times during their lives which reduces the incidence to about 1/20 of all marriages contracted. No person questioned had ever married more than one of his available cousins. Most of these were older men between the ages of 45 and 60, although two younger unmarried males stated that they intended to marry a cousin.(1)

582 For the most part the older men who had practised preferential
565 marriage were either upper class members or connected to patrilocal ex-
596 tended family groupings with fairly long associations to the household unit in which they lived. Although they could not give the names of their third and fourth ascendant generation members, long since dead, they knew that these had lived in this same place. The evidence therefore points to a higher incidence of cousin marriage in relation to upper class status and settled patrilocal family life in one locality.

(1) Both of these men married in 1957, one to the expected cousin, the other to a high ranking official's daughter. The one who married his cousin had a higher social status to begin with than the one who did not.

888 semi-seclusion among upper class women, and expands as the woman grows
565 into old age.
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888 In the case of a man, ideally he reaches the golden part of his life in old age. He is respected. His work is carried on by descendants, and his authority and senior position in a patrilocal extended family organization may have expanded to the point where he is the head of group of households, if his sons and junior brothers remain in or near his compound. At extreme age, with the progressive appearance of infirmity, he relinquishes many of his duties, and serves merely as an adviser who is consulted on most major decisions by his subordinates in the compound organization.

888 The difficulty in the universal realization of this
592 cultural ideal is its functional dependence upon residence patterns
183 [596] for its development. As we have seen the primary determinants in the structural cohesion of the patrilocal family organization are the elements of power and authority, which the individual householder is able to wield, manipulate and maintain during his active life, in contrast to the total distribution of power and authority in the society.
[565] Thus, as in many other segments of Kanuri culture, the ideal goals are manifestly more attainable among the upper ranks of society than at the lower levels. However, many peasants, due to some mild good fortune which gives them just a slightly higher proportion of economic and/or political power than their dependants, find themselves approaching old age successfully as heads of patrilocal organizations in which they are the respected senior members. Contrarily, it is also considered good and proper behaviour to maintain a role of loyal subordination to a strong extended household organization. Attachment to a senior in the organization leads to expectations of political and